

**PLAN**

**NATIONWIDE TOUR BETWEEN AUTUMN AND SPRING  
PARTLY PRE BUDGET REPORT CONSULTATION  
PARTLY LABOUR'S ECONOMIC POLICY COMMISSION  
BUT MORE WIDELY TO CONSULT LISTEN LEARN AND HEAR  
ABOUT THE COUNTRY'S VIEWS OF THE FUTURE**

**THEME**

**BRITAIN IS BECOMING GLOBAL BRITAIN – SUBJECT TO INTENSE  
GLOBAL COMPETITION AND CHANGE**

**FROM 1997 NEW LABOUR WITH TONY BLAIR MADE MAJOR  
ADVANCES**

**BUT THE SPEED OF CHANGES AND THE CHALLENGES AHEAD  
MEAN THE RENEWAL OF NEW LABOUR AS BIG A CHALLENGE AS THE  
CREATION OF NEW LABOUR**

**SINCE 1997 SPOKEN OF BUT NOT DONE ENOUGH TO EMPHASISE  
THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF BEING BRITISH CITIZENS AND  
THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT FOR EDUCATION WELFARE FAMILY LIFE  
THE ECONOMY AND THE INTEGRATION OF BRITISH SOCIETY**

**IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS NO NATION WILL SUCCEED WITHOUT A  
STRONG UNIFYING SENSE OF PURPOSE AND DESTINY**

**SOME NATIONS WILL SUCCEED AND OTHERS WILL FAIL**

**INDEED THE RIGHTS WE HAVE AS A CITIZENS AND THE  
RESPONSIBILITIES WE OWE WILL BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IN  
SHAPING A BRITISH NATIONAL PURPOSE, ESSENTIAL FOR MEETING  
THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE – SO THAT THE BEST IS YET TO HAPPEN**

**NATIONWIDE TOUR**

**-BUSINESS/CHARITY/COMMUNITY MEETINGS AS CHANCELLOR  
-PARTY MEETING WITH QUESTION AND ANSWER  
-MAJOR THEME OF THE DAY, PERHAPS FIVE OR SIX MAJOR THEMES  
FOR TEN TO 12 MAJOR DAY VISITS**

**CITIZENSHIP ... IS INTEGRATION WORKING ... WHAT IS RIGHT  
BALANCE BETWEEN DIVERSITY AND INTEGRATION ... WHAT ARE THE  
STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF COMMUNITIES IN BRITAIN TODAY  
AND WHAT MUST WE DO WITH CHARITIES, VOLUNTARY  
ORGANISATIONS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO REBUILD THEM AND  
MAKE THEM STRONGER**

**CHILDREN AND CHILDRENS SERVICES - WHAT ARE THE  
RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT NEIGHBOURS AND PARENTS IN  
MAKING SURE EVERY CHILD HAS BEST START IN LIFE ? CAN WE BUILD  
OUT OF SURE START / NURSERY EDUCATION / CHILD TAX CREDIT SO  
THAT CHILDREN HAVE ACCESS TO BOOKS, LEARNING, HEALTH  
SERVICES, AND BEST EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES THEY NEED /  
HOW CAN WE USE MONEY MORE EFFECTIVELY WHERE THERE ARE  
MANY AGENCIES INVOLVED WITH FAMILIES OFTEN WITH MULTIPLE  
PROBLEMS - POSSIBLY WITH ONE ACCOUNT HOLDER, ONE LEAD  
PERSON RESPONSIBLE DIRECTLY TO AND FOR THAT FAMILY ?**

**SKILLS, ENTERPRISE AND THE NEW ECONOMIC CHALLENGE -  
HOW CAN WE CRATE A MORE SKILLED MORE ENTREPRENEURIAL FULL  
EMPLOYMENT WORKFORCE**

**SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT AND  
INFRASTRUCTURE - HOW DO WE MEET THE CHALLENGE OF LONG TERM  
INVESTMENTS IN OUR FUTURE**

**CONSTITUTION AND TRUST - HOW DO WE REBUILD TRUST IN  
GOVERNMENT AND ENGAGEMENT LOCALLY AND NATIONALLY IN OUR  
FUTURE**

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD WILL BE GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE  
THE CHANGES WE NEED TO MAKE MORE PROFOUND  
WHILE THE GAINS FROM SUCCEEDING BIGGER, THE PRICE OF FAILING  
GREATER  
WHILE OPPORTUNITIES IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY ARE GREATER,  
INSECURITIES ARE GREATER TOO

WE WILL NEED TO MAKE THE RIGHT LONG TERM CHOICES - LIKE  
INVESTING IN EDUCATION AND CHILDREN - AND AVOID THE WRONG  
SHORT TERM PITFALLS, THE OLD SHORT-TERMIST BRITISH DISEASE OF  
THE PAST

IN SOME CASES WE WILL NEED TO MAKE SHORT TERM SACRIFICES TO  
ACHIEVE LONG TERM GAINS

SO I BELIEVE THAT TO SUCCEED IN THE MODERN WORLD COUNTRIES  
WILL NEED TO AGREE ABOUT INVESTING IN THE LONG TERM AND  
DEVELOP A STRONGER SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE THAN EVER  
BEFORE

PEOPLE WILL NEED TO KNOW WHAT THEY ARE WORKING FOR, AND  
AGAINST TERRORISM FIGHTING FOR

NOTHING IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN CREATING THAT SENSE OF  
NATIONAL DESTINY, A MODERN PATRIOTIC PURPOSE - A RESPONSIBLE  
BRITISH CITIZENSHIP FOUNDED ON A PROGRESSIVE CONSENSUS  
ABOUT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES - CREATING NEW  
OPPORTUNITIES WE BUILD A ONE NATION BRITAIN

THESE WILL BE THE ISSUES BRITAIN MUST THINK ABOUT FOR THE  
FUTURE.

THE RENEWAL OF NEW LABOUR WILL BE AS BIG A PROJECT AS THE  
CREATION OF NEW LABOUR

I BELIEVE TONY BLAIR DESERVES HUGE CREDIT NOT JUST FOR  
WINNING THREE ELECTIONS BUT FOR LEADING THE NEW LABOUR  
PROJECT

AND IN THE SAME WAY HE DESERVES CREDIT FOR TAKING US  
THROUGH 11 DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING YEARS, HE ALSO

**DESERVES CREDIT FOR UNDERSTANDING THAT WE NEED TO PLAN AHEAD FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF NEW LABOUR**

**IT IS NOT TOO EARLY TO BE CONSIDERING OUR NEXT MANIFESTO  
IT IS NOT TOO EARLY TO BE PLANNING FOR THE NEXT ELECTION,  
ORGANISATIONALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY  
IT IS NOT TOO EARLY TO BE SETTING DOWN THE PROGRAMME THAT  
WILL UNITE THIS COUNTRY OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS**

**SO AROUND THE THEME OF HOW A NEW MARRIAGE OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IS ESSENTIAL TO MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF A GLOBAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL CHANGE, I PROPOSE TO SPEND MUCH OF THE NEXT YEAR MEETING, LISTENING AND HEARING THE VOICE OF BRITISH PEOPLE IN EVERY REGION AND NATION OF THE COUNTRY**

**I WANT TO ENGAGE WITH THE BRITISH PEOPLE ON TOMORROW'S CHALLENGES AS WELL AS TODAY'S ISSUES**

**I WANT TO DISCUSS THE LONG TERM ISSUES THAT EVERY COMMUNITY CONFRONTS - FROM GLOBAL COMPETITION TO IMMIGRATION TO ANTI SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR**

**I WANT TO HEAR ABOUT PEOPLE'S DREAMS ASPIRATIONS AND AMBITIONS FOR THE FUTURE**

**I WANT US TO THINK TOGETHER ABOUT THE BRITAIN OF 2010 AND 2015**

**AND I WANT US TO THINK ABOUT THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CONSTITUTIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WE NEED TO MAKE AS A NATION TO SUCCEED BEST**

**I WANT US TO THINK ABOUT THESE CHALLENGES IN A NEW LABOUR WAY**

**SINCE 1997 WE HAVE, IN MY VIEW, NOT SPOKEN ENOUGH ABOUT THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE NEW LABOUR PHILOSOPHY**

**NEW LABOUR STARTED WITH THE NEW DEAL SAYING WE COULD NOT ANY LONGER AFFORD THE WASTE OF UNEMPLOYMENT - BUT INSISTING THAT FULL EMPLOYMENT WAS A RESPONSIBILITY NOT**

**ONLY OF GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY BUT OF THE UNEMPLOYED AS WELL. THAT THEIR OBLIGATION WAS TO SEEK EMPLOYMENT**

**AND BEHIND OUR DESIRE FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, MARKETS AND STATE WHICH HAVE INSPIRED OUR ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS, AND BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS IS AN EVEN BIGGER PHILOSOPHICAL, INDEED ETHICAL QUESTION:**

**WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENS IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY?**

**THOSE OF US WHO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE PART OF A COMMUNITY WITH NOT JUST SHARED NEEDS BUT MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES, SHARED VALUES AND THUS LINKED DESTINIES KNOW THAT THE RESPONSIBILITIES WE HAVE FOR EACH OTHER AS CITIZENS - AND THE RESPECT WE OWE EACH OTHER - ARE AS IMPORTANT AS THE OPPORTUNITIES WE ENJOY**

**HOW DO WE MEET PEOPLE'S WORRIES ABOUT JOBS AND ABOUT THE WELFARE STATE? IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS, HOW DO WE BEST ENSURE THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WHILE INSISTING ON THE OBLIGATION TO GIVE SOMETHING IN RETURN FOR THE HELP OUR COMMUNITY OFFERS?**

**HOW DO WE MEET PEOPLES WORRIES ABOUT FAMILY BREAKDOWN? IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS, HOW DO WE SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE PARENTS AND FAMILY LIFE SO THAT BY TACKLING PROBLEMS IN FAMILIES WE ENSURE EVERY CHILD AND NOT JUST SOME HAS THE BEST START IN LIFE?**

**HOW DO WE MEET PARENTS DESIRE THAT THEIR CHILDREN DO BETTER THAN THEM, THAT THE NEXT GENERATION WILL BE BETTER PLACED THAN THE LAST? IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS, HOW DO WE ENCOURAGE AND INDEED CHALLENGE YOUNG PEOPLE THAT IN RETURN FOR THE INVESTMENT IN SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES THEY BECOME MORE ASPIRATIONAL, MORE ENTREPRENEURIAL MORE AMBITIOUS ABOUT THEIRS AND THEIR COUNTRY'S FUTURE?**

**HOW DO WE MEET PEOPLES WORRIES ABOUT FUTURE PROSPERITY? IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS, HOW DO EMPLOYEES EMPLOYERS AND GOVERNMENT WORK TOGETHER TO ENSURE THAT WE ACHIEVE WHAT**

**IS A PRECONDITION OF ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND GREATNESS: THAT WE ARE THE BEST EDUCATED, BEST SKILLED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD?**

**HOW DO WE MEET PEOPLE'S WORRIES ABOUT IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM? IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS, HOW DO WE MATCH THE RIGHTS TO DIVERSITY IN OUR SOCIETY WITH THE NEED FOR A MINIMUM LEVEL OF INTEGRATION SO THAT BRITAIN IS GENUINELY BRITAIN?**

**I HAVE NOT DOUBT THAT THE BEST IS YET TO HAPPEN.**

**I WANT TO BE ABLE TO COME TO THIS CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME NEXT YEAR AND TELL YOU 'WE HAVE LISTENED, WE HAVE HEARD. WE UNDERSTAND THE CHALLENGES THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN - THIS GREAT NATION - WANT US TO MEET FOR THEM AND FOR THEIR CHILDREN'S FUTURE'.**

**AS CHANCELLOR I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO LISTEN SO THAT THE COUNTRY CAN DECIDE ON THE BEST POLICIES FOR THE FUTURE AND AS A MEMBER OF THE NEC I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO LISTEN SO THAT THE PARTY CAN HAVE THE BEST POLICY FOR THAT FUTURE.**

**SO I WILL REPORT BACK TO THE CONFERENCE NEXT YEAR ON WHAT THE BRITISH PEOPLE ARE TELLING US [ABOUT CHILDREN'S SERVICES; ABOUT EDUCATION; ABOUT CITIZENSHIP AND OUR CONSTITUTION; ABOUT COMMUNITIES AND THE ROLE OF CHARITIES AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS] - SIX OF THE GREAT ISSUES AFFECTING OUR COUNTRY'S DOMESTIC FUTURE; ABOUT HOW FOUNDED ON RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES TOGETHER WE CAN BUILD A PROGRESSIVE CONSENSUS ABOUT OUR FUTURE.**

**A BRITAIN WHERE WE CAN GENUINELY SAY  
THIS IS MY COUNTRY**

**WITH OUR HARD WORK, TALENTS, COMMITMENT AND  
PATRIOTISM WE ARE BUILDING A BETTER COUNTRY FOR THE FUTURE  
OUR VALUES MADE OUR COUNTRY GREAT  
OUR VALUES WILL MAKE IT GREATER SKILL - EXTENDING  
OPPORTUNITY**

**A BRITAIN WHERE THE BEST IS YET TO HAPPEN**

**AND THERE IS ONE ISSUE THAT IS PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT  
FOR OUR FUTURE PROGRESS AS A COUNTRY - HOW WE HELP,**

**ENCOURAGE, ASSIST AND SUPPORT EVERY CHILD HAVING THE BEST  
START IN LIFE**

**(MOVE TO PERORATION)**

**IN THE LAST YEAR IN MAKE POVERTY HISTORY WE HAVE MANAGED TO  
SHOCK A NATION ABOUT FAR AWAY PLACES OF WHICH THEY KNOW  
NOTHING**

**I HAVE EXPLAINED TO PEOPLE, WE HAVE SHOCKED THE NATION  
CHILDREN SOLDIERS  
CHILDREN PROSTITUTION  
CHILDREN HIV AIDS ORPHANS**

**I THANK YOU FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE**

**AND PEOPLE HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT SOMETHING  
HAS TO BE DONE ... CHILD POVERTY CAN BE PREVENTED**

**CHILD POVERTY SHOULD BE PRESENTED  
CHILD POVERTY MUST BE PREVENTED  
CHILD POVERTY WILL BE PREVENTED**

**AND SO THE SLOGAN IS A MORAL DEMAND FOR JUSTICE : END  
CHILD POVERTY NOW**

**WE MUST DO THE SAME FOR THE LIFE CHANCES OF YOUNG CHILDREN  
AND YOUNG ADULTS IN BRITAIN**

**HERE CHILD POVERTY IS NOT VICTORIAN, NOR EDWARDIAN IT IS  
ELIZABETHAN - OVERCROWDING AND SUBSTANDARD LIVING DOES  
NOT JUST HAPPEN IN POORHOUSES AND WORKHOUSES, BUT IN  
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF DAMP HOUSES**

**YOU CANNOT BLAME A CHILD FOR A PARENT WHO IS FECKLESS  
YOU CANNOT BLAME THAT CHILD FOR A PARENT WHO IS WORK SHY  
YOU CANNOT BLAME A CHILD FOR A PARENT THAT IS NEGLECTFUL;  
THAT CHILD CANNOT BE CALLED FECKLESS EVEN IF THE PARENT IS  
FECKLESS**

**THAT CHILD CANNOT BE REJECTED AS WORK SHY IF PARENT WORK  
SHY**

**THAT CHILD CANNOT BE WRITTEN OFF AS INCOMPETENT IF PARENTS  
INCOMPETENT**

**LET US STOP EXCUSING THE SHAME OF CHILDREN IN POVERTY BY  
BLAMING THE CHILD FOR THE FAILURE OF A PARENT .... OUR JOB NOT**

TO WALK AWAY FROM THE CHILD BUT TO RESCUE THE CHILD ... A CHILD HELD BACK BY A PARENT IS NOT AN EXCUSE FOR US DOING NOTHING, BUT DOING MORE ... TO DEMAND THEY EXERCISE RESPONSIBILITY ... TO GIVE OPPORTUNITIES ... BECAUSE PARENTS FAILED, CHILD DOOMED TO FAIL ... WE MUST NOT ACCEPT THE FUTURE FAILURE OF A CHILDREN BECAUSE OF THE PRESENT FAILURE OF THE PARENT

FOR IS NOT THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR MOVEMENT THAT EVERY CHILD IS SPECIAL

EVERY CHILD UNIQUE

EVERY CHILD PRECIOUS

EVERY CHILD PARTICULARLY THE MOST VULNERABLE DESERVES THE BEST START IN LIFE; EVERY CHILD DESERVES THE UNCONDITIONAL LOVE AND SUPPORT OF NOT JUST PARENTS BUT NEIGHBOURS CITIZENS MEMBERS OF OUR COMMUNITIES EVERY CHILD NO MATTER THEIR BACKGROUND OF BIRTH, NO MATTER THE FAULTS FAILING OF PARENTS EXTENDED FAMILY OF LOCAL SCHOOL OR COMMUNITY THE RIGHT TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN WHAT THEY ARE BORN WITH AND WHAT THEY HAVE IT IN THEMSELVES TO BECOME

NOT JUST PUT NEGATIVELY.... THAT NO CHILD SHOULD BE LEFT OUT OR LEFT BEHIND OR LOSE OUT

BUT THAT IT IS OUR DUTY TO ENSURE EVERY CHILD HAS EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO REALISE THEIR POTENTIAL TO THE FULL

EVERY THE CHANCE TO BE THE BEST THEY CAN BE

EVERY CHILD THE CHANCE TO MAKE THE MOST OF THEMSELVES

EVERY CHILD DISCOVERY

FOR EVERY CHILD HAS A POTENTIAL WAITING TO BE FULFILLED BUT WE DON'T KNOW WHERE, IF REALISED, THAT TALENT WILL TAKEN THEM WHEN WE THROW AWAY THE TALENT OF A CHILD

WE DON'T KNOW WHAT DISEASES WILL NEVER BE CURED

WHAT MUSIC WE WILL NEVER BE HEARD

WHAT IDEAS WE WILL NEVER BE ADVANCED

WHAT INVENTIONS WE WILL NEVER BE MADE / PATENTED

BUT WE KNOW THAT OUR SOCIETY WILL BE WEAKENED, OUR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY DIMINISHED, OUR CULTURE DEPLETED ... DENIED WHAT COULD BE SOME OF ITS GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS



**WHAT WE DO FOR CHILDREN IS THE MOST BASIC EXAMPLE OF UNCONDITIONAL RIGHTS FOR AN INDIVIDUAL AND THE MOST BASIC EXAMPLE OF THE UNCONDITIONAL OBLIGATIONS FOR US AS MEMBERS OF A SOCIETY**

**AND IS THERE NOT AN ENLIGHTENED SELF INTEREST THAT RECOGNISES THAT TODAY'S CHILDREN ARE TOMORROWS DOCTORS, TEACHERS, ENGINEERS, COMPUTER SCIENTISTS AND PUBLIC SERVANTS?**

**BUT IS THERE NOT ALSO A MORAL SENSE IN ALL OF US ?**

**CHILDREN MAY NOT HAVE VOTES, BUT THERE IS A MORAL SENSE IN ALL OF US THAT BELIEVES THAT NOT JUST OUR OWN CHILDREN BUT EVERY CHILD DESERVES FAIR TREATMENT. WHAT WE WANT FOR OUR OWN CHILD WE WANT FOR ALL CHILDREN.**

**THAT YOU MAY NOT FEAST WHILE OTHERS STARVE, YOU ARE NOT FREE WHILE OTHERS ARE IN SERVITUDE, THAT ALL IS NOT WELL WHEN BILLIONS SUFFER FROM DISEASE**

**IT'S THE BELIEF YOU JUDGE A SOCIETY NOT BY HOW IT TREATS THE STRONG, BUT BY HOW IT CARES FOR THE WEAK. NOT BY HOW IT VALUES WEALTH, BUT BY HOW IT CARES FOR THE POOR. NOT BY THE ESTEEM IT GIVES TO THOSE IN POWER, BUT BY ITS CONCERN FOR THE POWERLESS. NOT BY THE SIZE OF WEALTH, BUT THE DEPTH OF COMPASSION THE WIDTH OF GENEROSITY THE BREADTH OF CARING.**

**SO NOWHERE IS THE SCALE OF OUR AMBITION FOR A COUNTRY OF ASPIRATION AND ACHIEVEMENT - AND FOR A GOVERNMENT ON PEOPLE'S SIDE - MORE EVIDENT THAN IN OUR DETERMINATION TO ABOLISH CHILD POVERTY AND ENSURE EVERY CHILD HAS THE BEST POSSIBLE START IN LIFE.**

**SO YES, WE HAVE RAISED A MILLION CHILDREN OUT OF POVERTY. YES WE ARE PROUD. BUT WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED ON CHILD CREDITS, SURE START, NURSERY EDUCATION, MATERNITY PAY, MATENITY GRANTS AND CHILD CARE IS NOT A CAUSE FOR COMPLACENCY BUT A SUMMONS TO EVEN GREATER EFFORTS IN THE FUTURE . AS BEFITS THE LABOUR MOVEMENT OUR THOUGHTS ARE NOT ON THE**

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**THOUSANDS WE HAVE LIFTED OUT OF POVERTY, BUT THE  
THOUSANDS WE MUST STILL LIFT OUT OF POVERTY.**

**LET ME TELL YOU WHAT WE PLAN TO DO AND HOW YOUNG LIVES CAN  
BE TRANSFORMED**

**NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND**

**NO CHILD LEFT OUT**

**EVERY CHILD COUNTS**

**NOTE ON RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

**TODAY ALMOST EVERY CENTRAL QUESTION OUR SOCIETY CONFRONTS COMES DOWN TO, AT ROOT, FASHIONING A MORE UP TO DATE AND MORE FIRMLY ROOTED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RIGHTS WE HAVE AS MEMBERS AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES WE OWE**

**RESOLVING THE FUTURE OF WELFARE DEMANDS THE RIGHT BALANCE BETWEEN THE DUTIES SOCIETIES OWES TO ITS CHILDREN, FAMILIES DISABLED MEMBERS AND ITS ELDERLY AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES EACH CITIZEN OWES TO SOCIETY**

**BUILDING A MORE COHESIVE BRITAIN - WHERE WE ISOLATE AND VANQUISH EXTREMISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION - REQUIRES AN ASSERTION OF BOTH THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS INCLUDING THE RIGHTS TO CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND THE DUTIES OWED TO ENSURE THE NECESSARY INTEGRATION OF OUR SOCIETY, INCLUDING UNDERSTANDING THE LIMITS OF CULTURAL SEPARATENESS**

**RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF ASYLUM AND INTEGRATION DEMANDS THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE BEST BALANCE BETWEEN THE RIGHTS THAT SOMEONE SEEKING HELP IS ENTITLED TO AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THAT COUNTRY AND OUR COUNTRY**

**RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ITS CITIZENS THEIR SECURITY AND THEIR COMFORT AND PROSPERITY**

**ADDRESSING CRIME DEMANDS NOT ONLY AN ASSERTION OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES A YOUNG PERSON OWES TO HIS COMMUNITY BUT THE RESPONSIBILITY ALL OF US OWE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE YOUNG PEOPLE**

**RESPECT MEANS NOT ONLY THAT I RESPECT THE RULES AND TRADITIONS OF A SOCIETY IN WHICH I LIVE - MY DUTY - BUT THAT EACH OF US SHOWS RESPECT FOR ALL OUR NEIGHBOURS -MY RIGHTS**

**TACKLING DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE POLITICAL PROCESS IS OF COURSE PARTLY A QUESTION OF OFFERING NEW RIGHTS TO CITIZENS TO PARTICIPATE - IT IS ALSO A QUESTION OF WHETHER CITIZENS ACCEPT THEY HAVE A DEEPER RESPONSIBILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN MAKING THE DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THEIR LIVES**

SO ALMOST EVERY IMPORTANT QUESTION WE FACE - ABOUT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL BORDERS, ABOUT WHAT CONSTITUTES BRITISHNESS AND CITIZENSHIP ABOUT THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY, WELFARE STATE AND PUBLIC SERVICES, EVERY CENTRAL ISSUE ABOUT THE FATE OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND INSTITUTIONS - IS FOUNDED ON ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

AND SO WE MUST, IN PREPARATION FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF NEW LABOUR ASK THE RIGHT QUESTIONS

WHAT ARE THE RESPECTIVE ROLES, THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, OF GOVERNMENT MARKETS AND INDIVIDUALS

IN A WORLD OF CHANGING ASPIRATIONS AS WELL AS NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND GLOBAL ECONOMICS, WHAT WILL INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ENTAIL IN SAY HEALTH, CHILD CARE, AND WELFARE

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WHILE THE NEW DEAL WAS AN ADVANCE ON THE OLD, MUST WE NOT NOW BE MORE RIGOROUS IN APPLYING A RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AGENDA ... SHOULD THE RESPONSIBILITY TO LOOK FOR WORK MEAN TAKING ANY JOB AVAILABLE TO AVOID COSTS OF THE STATE? DOES IT EXTEND TO ACQUIRING NEW SKILLS FOR JOBS AT WHICH POINT BENEFIT SHOULD NOT BE PAID?

WHAT ARE THE OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP?  
BEYOND VOTING

VOLUNTARY, COMMUNITY AND CHARITABLE ACTIVITY  
PARTICIPATION

JUST PLAYING BY THE RULES

WHAT DOES THIS NOW MEAN ?

WHAT ARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN IMMIGRANT OR ASYLUM SEEKER?

WHAT ARE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF INTEGRATION IN A SOCIETY LIKE OURS?

HOW FAR SHOULD COURT JUDGEMENTS PLACE THE THREAT TO THE INDIVIDUAL ABOVE THE THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY?

IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT THE NEW LABOUR PROJECT WAS BUILT AROUND A NEW VIEW OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. WITH THE NEW DEAL, WITH OUR NEW FAMILY POLICY, WITH 'TOUGH ON CRIME TOUGH ON THE CAUSES OF CRIME' NEW LABOUR WAS AN ATTEMPT TO MARRY RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ON THE ROAD TO A BETTER SOCIETY - THE UNEMPLOYED ACCEPTING THE RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK WHILE GIVEN NEW RIGHTS TO OBTAIN IT.

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A REASSESSMENT IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT WHEN WE UNDERSTAND OUR RECENT HISTORY.

IT COULD BE SAID THAT SINCE 1945 IN PURSUIT OF RIGHTS THE LEFT EMPHASISED

THE NEED TO TACKLE SOCIAL INJUSTICE.

IN THE 80S WE HAD THE REBELLION OF THE RIGHT EMPHASISING MARKET FREEDOMS, THE EVILS OF STATE POWER AND COLLECTIVISM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

IN THE PAST TOO THE OLD LEFT COULD BE ACCUSED OF TALKING ONLY ABOUT SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND FORGETTING ABOUT PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND CHOICES - FOCUSING ON RIGHTS AT THE EXPENSE OF RESPONSIBILITIES. AS A RESULT WE SEEMED TO BE UNCONCERNED ABOUT CRIME AND ITS VICTIMS, ABOUT PARENTING AND THE FAMILY, ABOUT DEPENDENCY AND ITS CAUSES. IT COULD BE SAID THAT IN OUR INTENTION TO ERADICATE WANT THROUGH EQUALITY WE ALLOWED BEHAVIOUR TO BE SEPARATED FROM ITS CONSEQUENCES AND ALLOWED INDIVIDUALS TO MAKE OTHERS PAY FOR THEIR OWN SELF INTERESTED BEHAVIOUR.

BUT IN THE PAST THE OLD RIGHT COULD ALSO BE ACCUSED OF FOCUSING ONLY ON MORAL BEHAVIOUR AND FORGETTING ABOUT SOCIAL INJUSTICE - FOCUSING ON RESPONSIBILITIES AT THE EXPENSE OF RIGHTS. AS A RESULT THEY SEEMED TO BE UNCONCERNED ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT POVERTY, LOW WAGES, THE CAUSES OF DEPRIVATION.

THE OLD LEFT STRESSED THE NEED FOR JUSTICE AND FORGOT ABOUT THE NEED FOR A STRONG ETHIC OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND APPEARED TO FORGET THE VICTIM. THE OLD RIGHT STRESSED THE NEED FOR INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY BUT IN

DOING SO FORGOT THE NEED FOR A STRONG ETHIC OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS WELL AS PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THUS APPEARED TO ABANDON THE POOR. INDEED SOME WOULD SAY THE RIGHT HAVE BEEN TOO BUSY FIGHTING A CULTURE WAR TO FIGHT A POVERTY WAR.

SO WHILE IN THE PAST THE LEFT HAVE EMPHASISED STRUCTURAL INJUSTICE AT THE EXPENSE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE RIGHT PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AT THE EXPENSE OF TACKLING SOCIAL INJUSTICE, SURELY THE BEST WAY FORWARD IS TO CONCENTRATE BOTH ON ENHANCING PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND DIMINISHING STRUCTURAL INJUSTICE.

BUT LET US FOR A MOMENT DISENTANGLE TRUTH FROM FICTION IN THIS HEATED DEBATE

THE DEBATE IS OFTEN POSED BETWEEN STATE AND MARKET.

VARIOUSLY COUNTERPOSED ALSO ARE COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM

BUT I BELIEVE THIS IS TO CARICATURE BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT POSITIONS.

FIRST BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT KNOW THE ISSUE IS NOT STATE VERSUS MARKET BUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND MARKET.

SECOND BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE RESPONSIBILITIES WE OWE AS INDIVIDUALS TO OUR COMMUNITY AND THE RIGHTS WE HAVE AS INDIVIDUALS THAT IS THE ISSUE.

THIRD AND MORE IMPORTANT WE MUST REDISCOVER THE BRITISH WAY OF BALANCING  
LIBERTY AND DUTY.

AT THEIR BEST BRITISH PEOPLE NEVER BELIEVED IN DUTILESS RIGHTS, NOR DID THEY EVER ALLOW LIBERTY TO DESCEND INTO LIBERTARIANISM. FOR ALMOST ALL THE PEOPLE I KNOW THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTS IS PROFOUND - PUTTING SOCIAL CONSCIENCE BEFORE INDIVIDUAL PLEASE, MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

BEFORE PERSONAL GRATIFICATION, A RECOGNITION THAT EVERY CHOICE YOU MAKE GROWS OUT OF MORAL FOUNDATIONS: THE FOUNDATIONS A BELIEF IN HARD WORK, SELF IMPROVEMENT, RESPECT FOR OTHERS, TAKING RESPONSIBILITY, BEING HONEST AND FAIR, SHOWING SYMPATHY AND BEING CHARITABLE TO OTHERS. AND THIS IS AT BEST HOW BRITISH PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT WHAT CONSTITUTES BRITISH VALUES.

SO FIRST IT IS RIGHT TO UNDERSTAND WHERE WE HAVE COME FROM TO FASHION WHERE WE MUST GO NEXT.

I BELIEVE THERE IS MUCH IN BRITISH HISTORY AND IN BRITISH TRADITIONS THAT SUPPORT THIS VIEW OF BRITAIN.

BRITAIN HAS NOT ONLY REJECTED STATIST SOLUTION IMPOSED FROM THE TOP; BRITAIN HAS ALWAYS REJECTED A CRUDE INDIVIDUALISM; BRITISH HISTORY IS AT ITS BEST AN ATTEMPT TO COMBINE LIBERTY WITH DUTY.

THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM FROM OUT-MODED FORMS OF HIERARCHICAL OBLIGATIONS, WHETHER IT BE ARBITRARY MONARCHICAL RULE OF STATE MERCANTILISM WAS THE INSPIRATION OF 17<sup>TH</sup> AND 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY PHILOSOPHERS FROM LOCKE TO SMITH TO MILL.

THE 1869 BILL OF RIGHTS DEFINED LIBERTY FOR OUR CONSTITUTION. G K CHESTERTON' TOUCHING THE PURE IDEA OF THE INDIVIDUAL BEING FREE TO SPEAK AND ACT WITHIN LIMITS THE ASSERTION OF THIS IDEA WE MAY FAIRLY SAY HAS BEEN THE PECULIAR HONOUR OF OUR OWN COUNTRY.

IF NOT EQUALLY ALL YET EQUALLY FREE - MILTON

"THE FLOOD OF BRITISH FREEDOM" - WORDSWORTH

"AN ENGLISHMAN", SAID HAZLITT, "HAS AND CAN HAVE NO PRIVILEGE OR ADVANTAGE OVER OTHER NATIONS BUT LIBERTY ... AN ENGLISHMAN FELT THAT HIS NAME WAS ANOTHER NAME FOR INDEPENDENCE, THE ENVY OF LESS HAPPIER LANDS, WHEN IT WAS HIS PRIDE TO BE BORN, AND HIS WISH THAT OTHER NATIONS MIGHT BECOME FREE."

OR AS VOLTAIRE PUT IT "THE CIVIL WARS OF ROME ENDED IN SLAVERY, AND THOSE OF THE ENGLISH IN LIBERTY. THE ENGLISH ARE

THE ONLY PEOPLE UPON EARTH WHO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PRESCRIBE LIMITS TO THE POWER OF KINGS BY RESISTING THEM ... THE ENGLISH ARE JEALOUS NOT ONLY OF THEIR LIBERTY BUT EVEN THAT OF OTHER NATIONS."

AS MACAULAY WROTE, MONARCHS POWER LIMITED BY INABILITY TO LEGISLATE WITHOUT PARLIAMENT, IMPOSE TAX WITHOUT PARLIAMENT, AND BOUND TO CONDUCT EXECUTIVE IN ACCORDANCE TO THE LAWS OF THE LAND. ENGLAND'S BREAK WITH FEUDALISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES HAPPENED NOWHERE ELSE.

BUT FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY RULE DID NOT PRECLUDE DUTIES CITIZENS OWED TO EACH OTHER. WHILE ENLIGHTENMENT PHILOSOPHERS STOOD UNDER BANNER OF FREEDOM, THEY DID NOT ARGUE THAT FREEDOM GAVE THEM IMMUNITY FROM DUTY. RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WENT TOGETHER THE BRITISH IDEA OF DUTY AS THE VIRTUES THAT REINFORCES NEIGHBOURLINESS AND ENSHRINES THE IDEA OF A PUBLIC REALM DUTY THE FOUNDATION OF RIGHTS ITS ESSENCE IS AN UNWRITTEN CODE RATHER THAN LEGAL REQUIREMENT LONG BEFORE TOCQUEVILLE DISCOVERED LITTLE ((PLATOODS)) AT THE HEART OF AMERICA, THEY HAD MUSHROOMED IN BRITAIN.

IT IS BY INSISTING ON DUTIES AND NOT RIGHTS ALONE THAT THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF BRITISH CITIZENSHIP HAS BEEN FORCED

A CITIZEN CAN BE FORCED TO SERVE AS SPECIAL CONSTABLE (IS THIS TRUE?), TO SERVE ON A JURY, TO GIVE ACTIVE HELP TO POLICE APPREHENDING A CRIMINAL. WE HAVE ENSHRINED THE DUTIES OF PARENTS NOT JUST TO REGISTER BIRTHS OF THEIR CHILDREN BUT TO VACCINATE THEM AND SEND THEM TO SCHOOL.

SO CITIZENSHIP IN BRITAIN HAS BEEN AND IS A CONSTELLATION OF MORAL AND PRACTICAL DUTIES SOME EMBEDDED IN LAW. MILL PUT IT THAT 'THERE ARE MANY POSITIVE ACTS TO THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS WHICH ANYONE MAY RIGHTFULLY BE OBLIGED TO PERFORM'

SMITH WANTED TO FREE PEOPLE FROM SHACKLES OF OBEDIENCES TO KINGS. HE WANTED TO REMOVE SOME CONSTRAINTS BUT NOT ALL CONSTRAINTS. HE WANTED PEOPLE FREE OF THE STATE NOT FREE OF CIVIC BONDS. SO IT IS TRUE TO SAY THAT EVEN WHEN ENLIGHTENMENT PHILOSOPHERS STOOD UNDER THE BANNER OF



FREEDOM THEY DID NOT ARGUE THAT THEIR VIEW OF FREEDOM GAVE MEN IMMUNITY FROM DUTY AND SERVICE TO THEIR SOCIETY.

AND IT IS OUT OF THIS CONCEPT OF DUTY ((ENGARATED)) IN OUR HISTORY THAT WE TALK OF ACTIVE CITIZENS, GOOD NEIGHBOURS AND IN BRITAIN THE FOCUS HAS BEEN MORE THAN ON THE RIGHTS YOU CLAIM BUT THE DUTIES TO DISCHARGE.

SO HERE IN BRITAIN WE NEVER SAW THE INDIVIDUAL AS SELF INTERESTED, ISOLATED, SUFFICIENT UNTO HERSELF ... BUT PEOPLE WITH SHARED INTERESTS, MUTUAL NEEDS LINKED DESTINIES. WE OWE OBLIGATIONS TO OTHERS BECAUSE THEY ARE PART OF WHAT WE ARE AND AT BEST WE SENSE OUR LIVES ARE PART OF A WORTHWHILE ENDEAVOUR.

SO WHAT IS THE MODERN WAY OF RECONCILING RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, LIBERTY AND DUTY, IN POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REALMS?

WHEN WE CAME INTO POWER A COUNTRY ONCE PROUD OF ITS CIVIC INHERITANCE WAS BEING NOTED FOR TOLERATING CIVIC DECAY.

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THE UNIQUE FEATURE OF THE NEXT STAGE OF THE NEW LABOUR PROJECT IS A RECOGNITION THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO DEMAND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OR SIMPLY TO TALK OF TACKLING INJUSTICE ... BUT NOR IS IT ENOUGH TO ASSERT THE RIGHTS WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITIES ... WE MUST BE PREPARED TO TAKE COLLECTIVE ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE BARRIERS OF OPPORTUNITY THAT HOLD PEOPLE BACK AND WE MUST BE PREPARED TO DEMAND OF PEOPLE THAT THEY ACCEPT THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AS FELLOW CITIZENS BOTH FOR THEMSELVES AND WHAT THEY DO AND THE NATURE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN WHICH THEY LIVE.

IN EVERY COMMUNITY I WANT US TO THINK NOT OF THE SCHOOL OR EVEN JUST OF MY SCHOOL BUT OF OUR SCHOOL. IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN I WANT US TO THINK NOT JUST OF THE HOSPITAL OR MY HOSPITAL BUT OUR HOSPITALS. IN EVERY PART OF BRITAIN I WANT US TO THINK NOT JUST OF THE NEIGHBOURS OR EVEN MY NEIGHBOURS BUT OUR NEIGHBOURS. NOT JUST OF THE COMMUNITY

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**OR MY COMMUNITY, BUT OUR COMMUNITY. NOT JUST BRITAIN OR MY  
BRITAIN BUT OUR BRITAIN.**



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